

Message Text

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SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIAL MONDAY,
AUGUST 9, HEADED "THE TAIWAN DILEMMA."

2. ON HIS RETURN FROM A VISIT TO CHINA, SENATE MINORITY
LEADER HUGH SCOTT REPORTED GROWING IMPATIENCE THERE WITH
THE AMERICAN DELAY IN FULLY "NORMALIZING" RELATIONS, A
STEP THAT PEKING INSISTS REQUIRES THE UNITED STATES TO
TERMINATE ITS DEFENSE TREATY AS WELL AS ITS DIPLOMATIC
RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN.

3. UNOFFICIAL PRESSURE OF THIS KIND HAS INCREASED SINCE
THE DEATH LAST JANUARY OF PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI, WHO
SHELVED THE TAIWAN ISSUE IN 1971-72 TO OPEN THE WAY FOR
RAPPROCHEMENT WITH THE UNITEPRSTAT6S. BUT T-FOR R SCOTT
FOUND CHINESE LEADERS-STILL PREPARED TO WAIT FOR THE
NOVEMBER ELECTION AND THE POSSIBILITY OF A NEW ADMINIS-
TRATION IN WASHINGTON TO NEGOTIATE THE TERMS FOR FULL
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, A COURSE BOTH PRESIDENT FORD AND
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JIMMY CARTER HAVE INDICATED THEY INTEND TO PURSUE.

4. IT WILL NOT BE AN EASY NEGOTIATION. PUBLISHED REPORTS THAT CHINESE OFFICIALS ARE PRIVATELY THREATENING TO "LIBERATE" TAIWAN BY MILITARY FORCE COULD DERAIL A SOLUTION INDEFINITELY, IF PEKING PUBLICLY ENDORSES THIS LINE.

5. FOR TWO DECADES BEFORE 1971, THE CHIEF AMERICAN CONDITION FOR RECOGNITION OF PEKING WAS A PLEDGE TO RENOUNCE FORCE AGAINST TAIWAN. IN THE INTERIM COMPROMISE SOLUTION OF 1972, EXPRESSED MAINLY IN THE NIXON-CHOU EN-LAI SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE, THE UNITED STATES ACKNOWLEDGED THAT ALL CHINESE ON BOTH SIDES OF THE TAIWAN STRAIT MAINTAIN THAT TAIWAN IS PART OF CHINA; BUT IT ASSERTED AN AMERICAN INTEREST IN "A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT" OF THE TAIWAN QUESTION. PRIVATELY AND PUBLICLY, PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI MADE IT CLEAR THAT PEKING SAW NO URGENCY IN RESOLVING THE ISSUE.

6. PEKING ASSERTED THAT "THE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN IS CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIR IN WHICH NO OTHER COUNTRY HAS THE RIGHT TO INTERFERE." BUT THE UNITED STATES TACITLY NOTED THAT CHINA NEITHER HAD NOR WAS PREPARING THE SEALIFT OR AIRLIFT FOR AN INVASION ACROSS THE 90-MILE TAIWAN STRAIT.

7. THE UNITED STATES AGREED TO REDUCE AND ULTIMATELY TO WITHDRAW ITS 9,000 TROOPS ON TAIWAN; VIRTUALLY ALL WERE THERE FOR VIETNAM, INTELLIGENCE OR OTHER FUNCTIONS ANYWAY RATHER THAN THE ISLAND'S DEFENSE, WHICH DEPENDED ON THE SEVENTH FLEET AND THE CONTINUING AMERICAN DEFENSE TREATY. DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN CONTINUED; WASHINGTON AND PEKING EXCHANGED LOWER-LEVEL "LIAISON MISSIONS."

8. THERE IS NO MAJOR PROBLEM NOW IN ADOPTING THE SO-CALLED "JAPANESE FORMULA" -- DOWNGRADING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH TAIPEI TO ACHIEVE FULL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH PEKING. EIGHT OF TAIWAN'S TEN MAIN TRADING PARTNERS HAVE DONE SO WITHOUT IMPEDING TRADE OR OTHER RELATIONS.

9. BUT JAPAN AND TAIWAN'S WEST EUROPEAN TRADING PARTNERS
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HAD NO MILITARY ARRANGEMENTS WITH TAIWAN; THE AMERICAN COMMITMENT PROVIDED THE STABILITY NEEDED TO KEEP TAIWAN'S ECONOMY THRIVING.

10. TAIWAN'S PROSPERITY, ITS ATTRACTION TO FOREIGN INVESTORS AND THE POLITICAL FUTURE OF 14 MILLION TAIWANESE, WHO DON'T WANT TO BE UNDER COMMUNIST RULE, DEPEND ON ITS MILITARY SECURITY. THE AMERICAN DEFENSE TREATY CANNOT BE

ABROGATED, AS PEKING NOW DEMANDS, UNLESS PEKING REFRAINS
FROM OPEN THREATS OF FORCE AND TACITLY ACCEPTS VIABLE SUB-

STITUTE ARRANGEMENTS, INCLUDING CONTINUED AMERICAN SUPPLY
OF ARMS FOR TAIWAN'S MILITARY FORCES AND SOME LESS EXPLI-
CIT UNILATERAL AMERICAN COMMITMENT TO TAIWAN'S DEFENSE.

11. AN INSECURE TAIWAN, THREATENED BY PEKING, WOULD BE
A SOURCE OF TENSION OR WORSE IN PEKING-WASHINGTON RELA-
TIONS; ITS INTEREST IN ACQUIRING NUCLEAR WEAPONS, NOW
SHELVED, WOULD REVIVE AND IT MIGHT EVEN INVITE SOVIET
BASES. TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES,
IT IS IN PEKING'S INTEREST TO ACCEPT THE STABILIZATION
OF TAIWAN, SHORED UP BY AMERICAN TIES. END TEXT. HABIB

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